

# ***New Republic***

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## **LATTIMORE ANSWERS**

**The Text of His Testimony Before  
The McCarran Committee**

## **Truman's Judges**

**An Appraisal of the Courts  
Under Truman's Administration**

**Russell's Raid:**

**WILL THE SOUTH DEFEAT THE DEMOCRATS?**

MAR 5 1952

# Letters

## The 1952 Campaign

● Although an independent voter with a still-open mind on Presidential candidates, I can't resist commenting on a recent statement by T.R.B. that some friendly critics fear Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois as "too quiet and intellectual." They are surely underestimating both the man and the public.

The simple fact that Governor Stevenson has been able in a politically turbulent state to work successfully with Republicans as well as Democrats should make those critics take a longer look.

Moreover, I don't see how any observer can fail to recognize the dynamism of the man. What he says, whether on radio or lecture platform, has a compelling quality. This wouldn't mean much in this day when citizens are wearied by the ceaseless flow of words if his crisp businesslike reports to the people weren't matched by the decisive way in which he had gone about putting state business on an efficient—and honest—basis. Businessmen like this.

Of course, he really *uses* the English language, something some politicians seem to fear, but it's my impression that the citizens of all educational levels are getting his points—and *like* listening to him. No histrionics or political heart-throbiness, but a straight report on assets, deficits and problems to the shareholders of the enterprise for which he is executive director. Farmers, Midwesterners generally, everyday citizens like this, believe in his integrity.

If he is a "quiet" man, there is certainly nothing mousy or indecisive about him. Take a look at his reforms—and his hard-hitting vetoes. His courage has rather startled Illinois citizens—and pleased them. A President of the US needs fortitude today.

If understanding the currents of history and knowing something of where we are headed and how social forces are guided towards the places we want to go makes an "intellectual," then Stevenson probably classifies. Among some few of the stupid, the jealous and the sinister, there is a fashion of sneering at "the intellectual," of making a caricature of something that is largely ambiguous and mythical in fact. But what citizen really wants a President who lacks a first-rate mind? What citizens really object to is that display of verbal frothiness that sometimes masquerades as intellect. Stevenson impresses me as a man who has a flair for translating the understanding of a fine mind into fine deeds at the

level of practical politics. He *works*, too, at *improving* his skills.

Sometimes I think people haven't waked up to the fact that Stevenson is a dramatic phenomenon on today's political scene. Perhaps that is overestimating him. But at least he's giving a demonstration, for all politicians to see, of just how smart politically is straightforwardness and the direct approach in winning the faith of citizens in a day of little faith.

Champaign, Ill. YOLANDE E. CLEVINGER

● Your recent demand that Truman keep out of the race for President seemed to me, and to thousands of other Democrats and independents, a stand in favor of a Republican for that high office, with the chances in favor of Taft. It recalled your opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt after he had saved the country from the Hoover disaster. You did not object to what he had done; you just seemed aggravated because he had failed to cure every ill that had come down to us through the ages.

As matters now stand, the rank and file of Democrats want Truman renominated. Most of the Republicans seem to prefer Taft. The course you are pursuing is calculated to influence a lot of independents to vote for Taft. Your action seems to have been influenced by the rascality of a few government employees, a matter over which the President has no control but which will be properly cared for by the courts. The real question people must decide next November will be whether Truman and Roosevelt policies, under which there has been 20 years of unprecedented prosperity, will be continued, or whether they will be replaced with the reactionary measures for which the Republican Party continues to contend.

If the *New Republic* prefers Taft to Truman, it should say so, and quit beating about the bush. If it hopes to get the nomination for Kefauver, as it seems to me, nothing would be more futile. Kefauver could not hope for Southern support for the nomination because he has pledged himself to civil rights for Negroes. He would lose the dozen Northern and Western states in which Negroes hold the balance of power, but which usually go Democratic. Thus, the nomination of Kefauver would be a short cut to defeat.

In a contest between Truman and Kefauver for the nomination, do you imagine Kefauver would carry half a dozen states? And in a contest between Truman and Taft for the Presidency, do you imagine that the masses would profit more from the election of Taft than from the election of Truman? And which of these two would the *New Republic* support?

Paris, Mo.

H. J. BLANTON

## The Case for Egypt

● In your issues of November 26 and December 17, 1951, ("No Tears for Egypt" and "Blood and Histrionics") on the recent Egyptian phase of the conflict with Britain was explained to your readers in a way that neither corresponds to the facts nor to your code of ethics in dealing with progressive movements of liberation.

The recent denunciation of the 'Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of friendship concluded in 1936 was the climax of a crisis that has prevailed in the relations of the two countries since the proclamation of the right of self-determination by President Wilson during World War I. Egypt awakened and was looking forward to a new era, free from the entanglements with the wheels of Lancashire and Yorkshire as a producer of cheap cotton. . . . Britain, after an unsuccessful campaign of subjugation had to abolish the Protectorate delivered in 1914 and recognize Egypt as a sovereign independent state in 1922, subject to four points reserved for future negotiations. From that time up till now, Egypt has been pressing for its natural right to complete independence

(Continued on page 4)

# Bandwagon

## The Melting Pot Boils Over

A Fire Department spokesman identified two other buildings which were ordered vacated until fire-hazard conditions had been corrected. One was a building at 545 W. 112th St., a 12-story structure cut up into 198 single rooms housing 1,300 persons. — *From the New York Post.*

## A Pretty Girl Is Like a Zoo

Producer Sol Lesser seeks an athletic beauty to star in *Cave Girl*. . . . She must be able to swim like a fish, run like a deer, fight like a tiger, climb like a monkey and hug like a bear. — *A press release from RKO Radio.*

## Another Country

The US Supreme Court has ruled "restrictive covenants" and other formal and informal agreements to exclude home purchases on the basis of race or creed are unenforceable. In a discussion of this subject that followed the vote-counting, one Southwood home owner dismissed this point with the comment: "The Supreme Court ruling doesn't apply in California." — *From the San Francisco Chronicle.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors.

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## WASHINGTON WIRE

THE SHOW-DOWN point has now come in the Democratic Presidential race, and we expect spectacular developments shortly from Key West and Springfield, Ill. Truman wants to quit. He offered the job to Chief Justice Vinson, who rejected it, and now it's up to Gov. Adlai Stevenson. The hesitations of conscientious, wifeless, Yea - and - Nay Adlai have unfortunately allowed the Dixiecrats in the meantime to mobilize around Senator Russell (Ga.). Make no mistake about Russell, he is a first-rate man and the real leader of the Senate, but he is a sectional candidate, committed to the filibuster and white supremacy and will not be the nominee. But his candidacy gives the South bargaining power and could split the party.

Now it's up to Adlai. Truman has popped the question, and Adlai is coyly debating. The trouble is that in politics you can't be coy. This irascible column is developing a complex against political coyness. Eisenhower is being coy over in Europe now, and the result is that Taft is wiping him up in the pre-convention battle. Good old Bob isn't coy—bless you, no. He follows the ancient political motto (which is a good motto) that the American public likes to be asked for its votes, and Taft is tearing about the nation asking for them. If Ike wants to be President, he ought to come home and do the same thing.

Our guess is that Adlai will say "Yes." He is the logical man. Truman will go down the line for him. If so, the Governor has a lot to do: he must confirm himself as a national figure by speeches, radio and television in a limited time. (Incidentally *Life*, *Collier's*, and the *Saturday Evening Post* are all frantically preparing front-page spreads on him now. The enterprising NR has already published its piece.) Stevenson is a reluctant Presidential candidate with the awkward local problem of also avowedly running for re-election as

Illinois Governor in the primary of April 8. His lieutenant governor is a political hack who would presumably drop the Democratic "reform" administration if Stevenson quit. So that's the problem. Events press, and Truman can't wait.

The biggest battle of the 1952 Congressional session starts Thursday when Truman follows up the unprecedentedly successful Lisbon conference by asking \$7.9 billion for the Mutual Assistance Program. Lisbon formulated the blueprints; the question is, will Congress implement

them? There are three difficulties: the "economy" is now a political shibboleth; anti-foreign sentiment in Congress is crystallized by the inopportune fall of the Faure French Government over the very question of its own 15 percent tax increase to implement Lisbon; and finally Moscow—which usually co-operates with Truman when he wants a new military aid bill by some overt act—is keeping quiet. Before this battle is through a statement by Eisenhower will almost certainly be given to Congress. He may return in person to urge the appropriation. Analysts nail the Lisbon results as being greater than anybody could rightfully expect. This makes Acheson's success rankle all the more with partisan Republicans who can hardly forgive him for so conspicuously advancing the nation's cause. The fact must be faced realistically that the successful McCarthy-Taft campaign to undermine Acheson threatens our global role. Taft has fought to cut every major overseas appropriation bill since the original Marshall plan and will seek to whittle down this, too; the motto will be, "Wait till the Europeans show they mean business."

The Senate committee room with its pastel green walls, marble pilasters, gilt mirror and venetian blinds was crowded and suffocating when Owen Lattimore, after nine months, finally got his chance



to answer the McCarran charges. A spectator asked a guard "Can we have air?" and the guard promptly set the tone for the proceedings with the comment, "No, it's air-conditioned." A cocky little professor from Johns Hopkins whose speciality, of all things, is Inner Mongolia, looked with infuriating calm through his large bi-focals at eight full-blooded Senators who found him a necessary scape-goat for their political game. McCarthy had said he would "stand or fall" on this one; Stassen joined the fray, then McCarran. Which was right, Budenz or Lattimore. . . . ? Lattimore was in a strong position as the fateful afternoon began, for he had released a 50-page statement ripping the hide off the subcommittee. That was the galling thing to choleric McCarran et al. They wanted a purge trial, and the victim had the nerve to fight! Watkins (R, Utah) told the witness he'd be in jail if he had made such charges in court; McCarran, whose high blood pressure won't allow him to stay in the room with a firm opponent but a few minutes, cried that Lattimore had cast "invictive" (sic) on the committee and left. Lattimore adopted a tone of bland, professional superiority cloaked under a manner of mild patience that almost choked his wrathful interlocutors. The first sessions became a game of who could make the other lose his temper, which Lattimore easily won. Willis Smith (D, N.C.) made mad, bull-like rushes that left quivering darts in Lattimore's shoulders. The professor paused aggravatingly at questions that ought to have made him lose his temper only to make such comments as (to Ferguson): "The question itself is something of a non-sequitur," or (to committee counsel Sauerwein, brightly) "I'll rejoin your split infinitive." Lattimore has a lot of ideas with which we can't agree, but, heaven knows, he puts on a swell show.

**Notes:** The American Medical Association spent more on lobbying last year than any other group—\$450,000. . . . Maine's Governor Payne, avowed Ike supporter, is running against Taft supporter Brewster for the GOP Senate nomination: primary June 16.

Washington

T.R.B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

quite conscious of the futility of any independence as long as any part of its territory was occupied by British Forces. Negotiations were begun under different regimes in Egypt and Britain until 1947 when plenipotentiaries of both countries initialed a draft treaty admitting the unity of the Nile Valley and the complete evacuation of British troops in Egypt. Unfortunately, political intrigues here and there turned down the draft treaty concluded after long months of negotiations in which negotiators on both sides distinguished themselves by patience, moderation, good will and political foresight. . . .

. . . In your articles you seem to ignore the noble side of a progressive movement of liberation. . . . The people are imbued with a national and progressive movement aiming at the rebirth of a modern democratic and progressive regime intent upon the amelioration of the destiny of the masses by putting education, sanitation and welfare at the disposal of the big majority contrary to what is prevailing at present. Can the *New Republic* withhold its support to such a movement and allow its readers to be misled by a distortion of facts?

The present scare about Communism together with the new doctrine of "No Vacuum in the Middle East" has been cleverly explained by imperialists to justify the non-withdrawal of troops from the Canal Zone. But Egypt is and has been clamoring for armaments and despite the clauses of the 1936 Treaty Britain has withheld all military equipment bought and fully paid by Egypt. . . . As a nation of 20 million we can easily mobilize 500,000 strong and only ask for military equipment.

We do not ask the British to spill their blood on our soil nor the British or American taxpayers to provide for our safety. We mean to defend our country according to our financial means, welcoming in the meantime any exterior aid. . . . The present conflict between Israel and the Arab countries can easily be solved once Israel adopts a practical, human and just attitude towards the 800,000 refugees scattered in the Middle East for no guilt of their own. The sooner this point of view be understood the better not only for the security of the Middle East but for the peace and security of the world.

Cairo, Egypt

M. MUCHTAR ABDALLA  
Judge, Court of Appeals

### Catholics and Liberals

● As a Catholic and (I hope) a liberal, let me comment on Vincent J. Giese's incredible distortion of the relationship of the social sciences and liberalism with Catholic Theology (*NR*, Jan. 7). I read

his article with as much shock as displeasure. He gives the impression that we Catholics are not only rather bigoted but incapable of even the most elementary distinctions in our thought.

The predominantly Judaeo-Christian moral and ethical atmosphere which is derived most directly from moral and not dogmatic theology is the common basis and language of our civilization. And while we Catholics believe that this natural morality and ethics ultimately draws its authority from the supernatural truths underlying it (i.e. dogmatic theology), we realize quite well that in the temporal order it is possible to live this morality in its basic forms without accepting or even knowing anything about those underlying truths which we consider so important.

Certainly a liberal cause or movement which did not include an appreciation of Christ's redemption of man could not qualify as explicitly Christian in the full supernatural sense of the word but Mr. Giese is certainly toying with words when he claims that it "is not authentically liberal" in the temporal sense. Actually it may not only be liberal but, as some theologians speculate, it may be implicitly Christian in its moral aims. (viz. Agnostics fighting for racial justice and civil liberties.)

It is obvious from all the incisive comment on Mr. Giese's article, that his inability to distinguish between the natural and the supernatural is the major flaw in his essay on an interesting subject.

We Catholics may disagree with our Protestant friends on the theological authority of the Church, with our Jewish friends on the divinity of Christ, and with our Agnostic friends on the existence of God, but we certainly don't think that these doctrinal differences, so important on the supernatural level, preclude our getting together as people of good will in order to defend our cherished temporal way of life. Mr. Giese seems to think such a temporal unity is impossible. . . .  
Los Angeles, Calif. CHARLES STINSON

### Progressive Education

● Robert Hatch (*NR*, Jan. 14) must be lucky in his circle of acquaintances to assert that "a series of truths about progressive education" presented in *Passion for Life* "have been widely accepted for some time." He is on surer ground when suggesting that a transformation from old to new methods does not produce results so quickly.

Nevertheless, surely no film has ever made out so attractive and effective a case. Teachers and parents should not miss it to strengthen them in securing a really wide acceptance of progressive education.

New York City

MARK STARR



## RUSSELL'S RAID

IN THE SPRING of 1862, President Jefferson Davis assigned Gen. Robert E. Lee to the defense of Richmond against the advancing armies of General McClellan. Lee, far outnumbered by the advancing Union troops, decided on the bold strategy of sending a small force, under General Stonewall Jackson, to pretend an attack on the city of Washington. As Jackson swept toward the Capital, McClellan was within three days of Richmond, and anticipating the arrival of a corps under General McDowell to complete his strength. Stonewall Jackson's feint had the effect Lee had hoped for. Washington was panic stricken. Secretary of War Stanton frantically called for more soldiers. President Lincoln was persuaded to recall McDowell's corps to defend Washington, and General McClellan was thereby forced to halt his advance and move back from Richmond.

James F. Byrnes, Harry Byrd and Richard Russell may recall this chapter in Confederate history. The drive in defense of states' rights launched with Senator Russell's announcement that he is a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination is intended to panic the national Democratic Party as Stonewall Jackson once panicked Washington.

There is no more thought in the minds of the leaders of this new attack that Russell will be able to carry through and win the nomination for himself than there was in Lee's mind that Jackson should actually march on Washington.

**Russell's candidacy** is a deceptive maneuver. Its purpose is to frighten the Democratic Party into withdrawing the 1948 civil-rights plank from its platform and from nominating a true believer in the New Deal-Fair Deal philosophy. By presenting themselves as a solid force willing to destroy the party if not restored to a veto position in its councils, the Southerners hope to dictate the nomination of Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma on the Democratic ticket. At the very least, they hope for the nomination of Kerr as vice-president, and through him and Russell, the control of the Senate.

This last-stand defense of the Southern position has been slow in coming. No small part of the decision finally to do violent battle lies in the fact that the tidelands oil issue is fast approaching permanent settlement.

Of the two points in the Dixiecrat platform of 1948—anti-civil rights and anti-federal control of the tidelands—the second far overrode the first in the thinking of the backers of the movement. President Truman has consistently supported the right of the federal government to control of the tidelands and the vast-wealth they contain. The two leading possibilities to succeed him—Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver—share his views on this issue. If any one of these three were to be elected in 1952 to preside over the settlement of the oil claims, the oil interests will lose their chance at untold billions in fat state leases. They intend to nominate a different kind of Democrat or elect a Republican. It is at the first of these goals that the Russell move is aimed.

**Unfortunately for Russell**, his home state lies too far South to make him a serious candidate. In Bob Kerr, the oil interests have their chosen spokesman. He has been blatant in pushing not only the tidelands oil bill but the notorious Kerr natural gas bill which stripped the federal government of power to regulate this natural resource. Kerr is hated by minority groups and organized labor for his efforts to delimit their rights, but with the party regulars who will make up the state delegations which pick the nominee, Kerr is popular for his joviality and political know-how, and for his oratorical skill.

While Russell is gathering strength, the Kerr organization will be trying to soften up the mind of the President, who is known to be interested in Adlai Stevenson as a successor or running mate. The group "brain-trusting" Kerr is in a strong position to influence the Presidential mind—if not actually to support Kerr, at least to permit an open convention in which Kerr would have his chance. The three chief Washington king-makers on Kerr's side are Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, a Truman favorite, Senate Secretary Leslie Biffle, perennial luncheon host to the President and Clark Clifford, former Presidential counsel, now retained as Washington lawyer for the Phillips Petroleum Company of Oklahoma, among others. These men can be counted on to remind the President at the proper time that Kerr held the Senate floor in defense of Truman's firing of General MacArthur when no one else would and in repayment of that loyalty ask that he be given a boost in the convention.

Russell's backers predict that he will come to Chicago with probably 260 of the 290 Southern delegates. This is a small part of the total of 1,230, but that bloc will represent 128 potential electoral votes—176, adding in possible border states for Russell. The blackmail letter the Russell group will take to Chicago will remind Truman that in 1948, when he won with 303 electoral votes, 88 coming from seven Southern states, the loss of four additional Southern states would have cost the Democrats the election. In considering this threat, liberal

Democrats might remember that the Democratic ticket would not necessarily lose out in the electoral college were the South to divert *all* its electoral votes from the Democrats if certain of the electorally powerful states like New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan, lost to the Democrats in 1948; could be regained.

The diversionary raid which Russell has set out to lead must not be allowed to accomplish its purpose of throwing the main body of the Democratic Party into retreat through compromise.

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## LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT—SUBJECT: POINT FOUR

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**D**EAR MR. PRESIDENT:

We seldom write open letters. We do so now out of concern for an idea which you conceived and which you alone can carry forward.

President Roosevelt will be remembered for the TVA. You hope to be remembered—and we hope you are—for the great concept you brought to the White House, the Point Four Program.

It was a bold new program as you conceived it. It was worn down because your advisers and the Congress failed to realize that an action program comes to life through an action agency. There is no such agency today.

**Still worse**, in January, 1951, you placed your own idea in jeopardy by pressing it into the framework of US military security. The friends of Point Four, such as the *New Republic*, warned of the devastating results overseas, if the genius of the program—its moral purpose—should be sacrificed to narrow expediency. But the men around you told you to appease your enemies in Congress by putting Point Four into uniform, and you agreed.

The Congress took you at your word. *"No military, economic or technical assistance,"* it decided, *"shall be supplied to any nation in order to further military effort unless . . . the recipient country has agreed to . . . make . . . the full contribution . . . to the defensive strength of the free world,"* and *"No economic or technical assistance shall be supplied to any other nation unless . . . such assistance will strengthen the security of the United States."*

To free peoples, jealous of their newly won independence, that language smacked of centuries of oppressive imperialism, and of the kind of domination which makes Russia a hated state. For that reason Iran, Burma, Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, Ireland and Mexico refused to accept Point Four aid on the terms it was offered to

them. And under that same provision the United States is committing a political crime in Indonesia today.

Indonesia is no tiny colony to be kicked around. It's a great nation of 77 million people whose span, from island tip to tip, is wider than the US. It has the largest reserves of manpower and resources in the world. It fought a hard war, first against the Dutch, then against native Communists, to establish its freedom from foreign domination.

A decent government is struggling in Indonesia against the forced timetable set by Communist China. It suffers from a terrible shortage of trained personnel. To overcome that shortage an ECA mission took doctors, teachers and county agents out to Jakarta. With 13 cents to spend for each citizen, this mission, now under the Mutual Security Administration, has taught Indonesians to triple their rice crops, to dig irrigation ditches, to use fertilizers and insecticides, to tackle trachoma which spreads blindness through South Asia.

All this Indonesia needs. Yet rather than accept it, on the terms it is offered, the Indonesian Government has resigned. The government resigned, Mr. President, because it would not submit to a secret military agreement pressed on it by your ambassador. He tried to ram it down the throat of the Indonesian Government under the military assistance title of the Mutual Security Act, even though the only military assistance Indonesia has received is a few light arms for its constabularies.

The Indonesians were right, Mr. President; so is the Asian press which is damning us for acting like the Dutch in their worst days of overlordship in Asia. We can't win allies among the free nations of Asia by requiring them to declare on bond paper and three carbons that they are satellites of the US.

You accepted an almost unworkable act, Mr. President; you unloaded it onto an almost unworkable administrative

structure. You placed the program in each country under the veto power of old-line ambassadors. And out in Jakarta your ambassador, Merle Cochran, made the most of his opportunity to kick the Indonesians around.

**Cochran never wanted** a Point Four program in Indonesia. He thought private investment would be sufficient, and he didn't want any government program he couldn't control. He couldn't control the MSA program. But he could block it, and he did. He ignored the MSA chief who ranks under him as minister. He insisted on forcing a military agreement on the Indonesians before an economic agreement was negotiated. He acted without the knowledge or consent of the MSA or the State Department (no matter what your appointee, James Webb, tells the newspapers). He overrode the timid reproach the Department offered. And so through all Asia he gave the US a black name.

If Cochran's viewpoint wins, and these trends continue the Point Four concept will shrivel up. The Congress will go on appropriating funds, the Administration will go on spending them in Asia; but it will be a timid and tired program for subsidizing yes-men, not a bold new program to help Asians help themselves.

The Point Four Program means a great deal to you, Mr. President. That's why you entrusted it to Averell Harriman's care. But Harriman is one of the Wise Men

of the NATO, bound up in Europe's problems. The program needs your own fighting support.

There's not much you can do about the administrative mess this year. You are stuck with the name of "mutual security" for what should be a program to bring about an expansionist world economy.

But there is much that you can do.

You can bring men like Cochran home. You can back up Chester Bowles' urgent call for aid to India, even if it means a few less guns. You can insist that Point Four aid move beyond the narrow limits of technical assistance to the comprehensive planning that relates agriculture, health, small industry and education in country-wide programs in which we provide services and supplies.

Above all, Mr. President, you can go before Congress and the people, forgetting the shibboleth of mutual security and speaking instead of human dignity, which is where the Point Four Program started, and where it belongs. You may be on weak grounds on some issues, but in this fight you are unassailable. Citizens will respond because in these terms Point Four is part of our tradition, and the great alternative to an endless and fruitless expenditure of resources and lives.

It's up to you, Mr. President, to lead the fight for your own concept before the selfish, the short-sighted, the heavy-handed drag your vision into the shadows.

## THE WEEK

### LABOUR FALTERS

The British Labour Party has been forced into the political doghouse as a result of its inept maneuvering in the House of Commons' debate on Far East-ern policy.

Under pressure from the left-wing, Clement Attlee and Herbert Morrison moved to the attack with their flanks wide open. Their charge that Churchill went too far in support of American policy left them open to ridicule when the still very agile Prime Minister counter-attacked with proof that the Labour leaders had themselves secretly committed Britain to join the United States in bombing Chinese air bases if these were used for heavy attack on the United Nations forces in Korea.

With Morrison now forced out of the party's key foreign-policy spot, the moderates are more discredited than ever. Their mistakes began when, during the recent election, they allowed the Bevanite wing to capitalize on the spurious captioning of Labour as the "peace" and the Conservatives as the "war" party. Churchill has now shown that the Labour government had itself compromised its scruples on China policy on the highest diplomatic levels. Whatever agreements Churchill made in Washington seem only to continue the policy laid down by his predecessors.

Having been afraid to stand up for their real policies when these were made from relatively free will, the Labour moderates now stand little chance of defending them successfully before their party's rank-and-file. In good part their

present embarrassment is due to their long-term failure to educate their membership in the basic elements of British-American relations, in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Chances for the evolution of a positive non-Bevanite policy now seem dim. The ghost of Ramsey MacDonald will be sure to plague those Labour leaders seeking to reconcile their Socialist principles with the stark, unromantic realities facing Britain today. The Bevanites, free from scruples and responsibility, will be sure to capitalize on Attlee's discomfiture. In this connection the appointment of Hugh Dalton, one of the party's most doctrinaire leaders, as head of Labour foreign-policy planning does not improve chances of the moderates' evolving a more constructive line.

## NEW TOOLS AGAINST TB

What promises to be the most powerful of all drugs against tuberculosis was recently announced in New York City. Used on 190 patients, all of whom were near death from the disease, it has caused a practically complete remission of symptoms in a period of only a few weeks in each case. One patient gained 95 pounds in nine weeks and another, 84. It is still too soon to announce firm conclusions, but the present outlook is that the new chemical will be enormously more effective than the best drugs heretofore available.

The new drug is a derivative of nicotinic acid, or niacin, which is one of the vitamin B complex; it is a synthetic product, made cheaply from coal tar. It can be taken by mouth, and the effective dose is much smaller than the toxic one, minimizing any possible danger. The action is to kill the bacteria, instead of merely retarding their growth as most other drugs do. Since the therapy is simple, it should be possible to treat a patient at home, greatly reducing the cost, and freeing many thousands of much-needed hospital beds.

It should be emphasized that this drug is still experimental, and is not yet on the market. If it lives up to its early promise, it may be on sale by May or June. Several forms are being used experimentally and many slight modifications are possible which is important because the tubercle bacillus often adapts itself to resist any given drug.

Although few people realize it, tuberculosis is still an extremely serious matter, even in the United States where the death rate has been cut 92 percent in recent years. There are 500,000 active cases in this country, only a quarter of which are in hospitals or sanatoriums, and there may be as many as 100,000 cases not even suspected by the victims, with all the danger of spreading the infection that this fact implies.

## WATCH ON THE RHINE

The old-line German fire-eaters, who swallowed the Hitler line and have been resputing it recently with considerable success, are beginning to meet deter-

mined opposition. US High Commissioner John J. McCloy, who during his three years in Germany has taken pains to keep out of internal politics, has now served notice that the neo-Fascists will be fought with all possible weapons. Acting with implied Allied support, Konrad Adenauer's government is now attempting to outlaw the Socialist Reich Party (SRP) under a constitutional proviso which allows the banning of "anti-constitutional" groups.

McCloy's strong statement appeared in his quarterly *Report on Germany*, usually a succinct but routine document. This time however, it included a biting seven-page section on "Currents in German Nationalism." Typing its leaders as "political racketeers and crackpots," the report took the SRP and its satellite groups apart in a decidedly undiplomatic tone. It came to the conclusion that the SRP, while not an immediate threat to German democracy, "is a potential danger whose nature and importance warrant continued vigilance."

Courageously, the McCloy statement did not limit itself to the discredited SRP. Noting that "even some federal ministers" have played the nationalistic game, it also took over the coals some members of Adenauer's government. The reference was to two party ministers, Heinrich Hellwege and Hans Seehofer, who represent their small rightist party in the Adenauer coalition.

Interpreted on a policy level, the McCloy statement seems to bear out a strengthened US stand toward the German self-assertion drive as a whole. Anxious to get Adenauer to sign on the dotted line for the European Army, the State Department has ever since Korea muffled its criticism of German politics. Now that the German-Allied contract is about to be signed, American officials seem to feel more free to get things off their chest. Many believe that the Germans would have responded better if this frank policy had been pursued throughout the post-Korean negotiations.

## LET 'EM EAT CAKE"

At least 150,000 automobile workers in the Detroit area and thousands of other workers in New England are now idle as a result of material shortages and general administrative tie-ups in the mobilization program. The Senate Finance Committee has opened hearings on the Moody-Dingle bill designed to meet the emergency by providing federal funds to supplement state unemployment in critical defense areas.

Co-author of the bill, Sen. Blair Moody (D, Mich.), was the first witness. He described in some detail the critical situation in the Detroit area—the plight of jobless men. He told the committee that since much of the unemployment is caused by the defense program it is the responsibility of the federal government to help the workers who are hurt by it. He proposed a boost of jobless benefits by 50 percent in areas of widespread unemployment.

White House aspirant Sen. Robert A. Taft, fresh from his Western campaign tour, waded into the discussion in his finest obstructionist role. "... The unemployment-compensation system in Michigan is intended to take care of exactly this kind of emergency, is it not?"

To those who could recall the Ohio Senator's position on a similar bill in 1945, the Kilgore Emergency Unemployment Compensation bill, Taft's blunt statement provided a rude shock. At that time he said:

... Our position is that we are not going to interfere with the state system. We think it is a good system; but we believe that the federal government, by reason of the war activity, and the cancellation of contracts, has brought about such a condition that it is not fair to burden state funds any further with this special emergency. Let those funds be kept for the kind of emergency which was contemplated when the unemployment-compensation system was established, and not a war emergency.

Supporters of the Moody-Dingle bill were still holding out hope for its passage, and relief of the areas, but the inconsistent position taken by Taft, with his great Senatorial power, may well scuttle it.

The article by G. D. H. Cole on the evolution of Marxist theory, announced to appear in this issue, will be published at an early date.

# Outside America

## THE POPE IN POLITICS

The address which Pope Pius broadcast from the Vatican on the eve of the feast of the Virgin of Lourdes was a "fatherly exhortation" to the "beloved sons and daughters of Rome." But it was also a political statement *urbi et orbi*—to the city and to the world—of great and timely importance. For it called upon the Romans to establish a "pattern" that should be "immediately imitated . . . near and far, so that our eyes shall see not only cities, but nations, continents, the whole human race return to Christ."

Whereas, the Pope said, the root of evils was in the last century "rationalistic aberration and religious depression," it is now, "lethargy of the spirit, weakness of the will, coldness of heart." Again and again he inveighed against "lethargy" and "listlessness." He said:

May this city . . . receive from this age . . . the crowning glory of being the promoter of the common salvation at a time when opposing forces are contending for the world. . . . Millions of men are pleading for a change of course as they look toward the church of Christ as to the only strong pilot who, with all due respect for human liberty, can take the lead in so vast an undertaking. . . .

This is not the moment to discuss, to search for new principles, to fix new aims and goals. . . . All are called to a suitable assignment, to an appropriate service, to a measure of work corresponding to the urgent necessity of defense, of victory, of positive construction.

Exactly eight days before the Pope's address, Dr. Luigi Gedda, the new President-General of Italian Catholic Action, made his first important "campaign" speech. At Naples, he called for defense of "Catholic principles" in the elections for administrative offices soon to be held in Rome and in the south of Italy (See NR, "The Vatican's New Line," Feb. 11, 1952). Three days before the Pope's address, the *Osserva-*

*tore Romano*, official organ of the Vatican, answering criticisms of Gedda's open intervention into Italian politics, said:

If the diffusion and actuation of Catholic principles are combatted in the political field, it is also in this field, therefore, that they must be defended; if they are combatted through electoral competitions, they must also be defended in the electoral competitions.

The newspaper took the position that, although Article 43 of the Concordat between the Holy See and the Italian State forbids Catholic Action's organizations from working through any political party, it does not forbid political activity as such. This helped explain why the *Osservatore*, two days before the Pope's address, rejected a formal bid from the head of the MSI, the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement, for support or endorsement in the forthcoming administrative elections. In answer to Augusto De Marsanich, several times a Cabinet Minister under Benito Mussolini, the Vatican newspaper said that Catholics must remain united and can not permit themselves the dangers involved in any splitting in the present critical moment.

The neo-Fascist appeal was published in *Social Nationalism* which the New York *Herald Tribune* describes as "a publication which extols many of the ideas that characterized National Socialism in Germany and Fascism in Italy." It was made public in connection with the twenty-third anniversary of the agreement between Benito Mussolini and the Holy See. The Pope's radio broadcast from the Vatican was made on the eve of that anniversary as well as on the eve of the ninety-fourth anniversary of the apparition of the Virgin to Saint Bernadette Soubirous at Lourdes.

On the day of the broadcast, the *Osservatore Romano* again insisted:

Catholic Action is outside and above any political party, but not therefore outside or above politics. . . . Parties are one thing, politics another. . . . Before the Christian Democratic Party existed, in the period between 1904 and 1919, the Catholics were a political and electoral force of the first order.

A parallel was suggested between the Catholic Action and labor unions "which

often are active in politics though woe to anyone who, for this reason, confuses them with political parties of any kind." The notion, advanced by the Communists that Dr. Gedda's organization served the Christian Democratic Party of Premier Alcide de Gasperi, until not long ago the "favorite instrument" of the Vatican, was brushed aside in the same paragraph that suggested the parallelism with labor unions which, in Italy, are predominantly Communist.

And while the official newspaper of the Vatican was making clear that the Roman Catholic Church was definitely and vigorously in Italian politics on its own "outside and above any political party," it was also making another important announcement. Jesuit Father Lombardi who had played so large a part in creating Catholic Action's "civic committees" would once again help Dr. Gedda use them, as he had with great success in the national election of April 18, 1948. Father Lombardi, starting on Monday, February 11, the day of the two anniversaries, made radio broadcasts daily over the Vatican radio. The first of the broadcasts was made from a hall in the Pius Palace of the Vatican where the Jesuit priest addressed a large audience including Dr. Gedda and a number of Cardinals. In the course of the address he referred scornfully to "those who attacked their country from abroad during the war," and he plainly expressed the view that Radio-London was no better than Radio-Moscow.

There could be no doubt whatsoever that Father Lombardi was intervening openly on the side of the neo-Fascists against Deputy Umberto Calosso, a member of the Christian Democratic Party, who was in fact a speaker for Radio-London during the war, and who had recently been prevented from delivering lectures at Rome University by gangs of young neo-Fascist bullies. This was the immediate—and indignant—interpretation by Liberal, Republican and anti-Communist Socialist deputies, as well as of most newspapers of all parties. Giuseppe Saragat, the leader of the vigorous anti-Communist faction of the Socialists, went so far as to call the priest a "mediocre Fascist," and Calosso

brought suit legally for slanderous defamation of character—an effort not likely to succeed since Lombardi was speaking in a place which enjoys extra-territorial rights under the Concordat between Mussolini and the Holy See.

What made the Jesuit priest's attack against the wartime anti-Fascist Italians and his implied defense of the present use of violence against them by the neo-Fascist significant was not only the fact that it was made on the soil of the Vatican, before an official audience of high dignitaries of the Church, and in presumed—indeed, formally announced—furtherance of the Pope's "fatherly exhortation" to the Romans. The Chamber of Deputies had already—and unanimously—deplored the attacks on Calos-

so. And since Premier de Gasperi had already declared that democracy implied the elimination of political violence, the relation of the Pope's speech to democracy was brought in question.

The *New York Times*, in reporting the Pope's speech, pointed out that "the Italian left-wing press" said his address was "the first gun in a campaign to arouse Roman Catholic voters in view of the approaching municipal elections in Rome and Southern Italy." The *Times* added: "The Pope did not make the slightest reference to local affairs and delivered an address the scope of which embraced the entire world."

This might be a justifiable interpretation if the speech were judged entirely by itself, without reference to Dr. Gedda,

the *Osservatore Romano* and Father Lombardi. It happens, moreover, that any serious gain in the number of Left votes, or even of anti-clerical Right votes, in the *urbe* of Rome would be a disaster for the accomplishment of the Vatican's goals—now frankly political—in the *orbe*. And when the Pope attacked "lethargy" and "listlessness," he was, at least incidentally, helping Dr. Gedda's efforts "to get out the vote." Nor is it irrelevant that the Pope said this isn't the time to "discuss" or "search for" novelties because "aims and goals . . . clarified by the teachings of the Church . . . adapted to immediate circumstances by the Supreme Pontiffs, await one thing—concrete executions."

Paris

PERCY WINNER.

## TRUMAN'S JUDGES

**B**Y LAST November, Harry S. Truman had exercised his Presidential power of appointing federal judges approximately 125 times. Some of those choices have reflected notably bad judgment, like the surprising stab in the dark in 1945 that gave us Mr. Justice Burton. Personal friendships, the bowing bosses, the Pendergast way of politics have given us most of the others. The Truman appointments have weakened the federal judiciary and lowered its prestige.

The political handshake gained its greatest triumph when Tom Clark was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Party regularity, personality and knowing the right people brought Clark from the position of an oil lobbyist before the Texas legislature to the nation's highest court. Sen. Tom Connally first influenced his Texas protégé into the Justice Department. By the technique of making no enemies, Clark became Attorney General when Francis Biddle was no longer welcome in the Truman cabinet. After an undistinguished and doing-nothing performance, he was selected to succeed the late Justice Frank Murphy in 1949.

The President's four appointments to the Supreme Court will influence American law for decades to come. One only needs to recall the late Justice McReynolds, appointed by Woodrow Wilson, who lived to harass the New Deal with his bitter nineteenth-century opinions for two-thirds of the Roosevelt regime. Now, the mediocrity of Sherman Minton and Harold Burton, the suave inattention of Chief Justice Vinson to civil rights,

by Joseph E. Finley

and Clark's friendships from Caudle to Connally have reduced the court to its lowest esteem since the days of the Nine Old Men.

Judge Bennett Champ Clark of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia was one of the first beneficiaries of the "Missouri plan for political advancement." A mediocre, isolationist Senator, Clark could not even survive his own party's primary in 1944. The next year, his old Senate colleague, Harry Truman, became President of the United States. Clark was given a safe seat on the second highest federal court for the rest of his life.

Appointments to the 11 federal Courts of Appeals are almost as important as those to the highest tribunal since nine out of 10 federal cases are finally decided there. Because of the amount of federal litigation, the Supreme Court must limit its rulings to only the most important cases. For the others, the Courts of Appeals decisions become the final law. Yet few laymen know who these appellate judges are.

Most of Truman's selections, like that of Bennett Clark, have drifted back from the high standard set by President Roosevelt. For the most part, FDR chose proven lawyers and outstanding scholars from the law schools. One law school dean, Wiley B. Rutledge of the University of Iowa, was finally promoted to the Supreme Court, where he made a brilliant and constructive record. Truman's appellate choices, while far from as bad as the Supreme Court selections, have helped move us another step down the road toward the judicial poorhouse.

When District Judge Alfred E. Modarelli was a young lawyer in Union City, N. J., he became an active partici-

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pant in Frank Hague's Hudson County machine. After a few years of faithful service, Hague promoted him to the job of assistant prosecutor of Hudson County. In 1948, with Hague's recommendation, he was made United States Attorney. When the dictatorial Jersey boss began to slip and was finally ousted in 1949, Modarelli had already made a quiet shift over to the opposition camp. When there was an opening on the federal bench for the District of New Jersey, Modarelli was the most logical choice of the Kenny forces, who were now the ruling party powers. Thus, Modarelli became a judge of the US District Court to sit for the rest of his natural life.

**A favorite farm team** for political lawyers is the Justice Department. Alexander Holtzoff put in his years of apprenticeship there and formed a loyal friendship with J. Edgar Hoover. Shortly after Truman became President, Holtzoff was appointed to the District of Columbia bench. His record has been almost pathetic, as his decisions have been reversed time and again by higher courts. He apparently still retains the prosecution zeal of an FBI lawyer.

Three terms as a member of Congress, an interval in the Justice Department, plus undeviating party loyalty brought James P. McGranery to his lifetime position as a district judge in Philadelphia. William F. McCarthy, a recent Truman appointee in Massachusetts, has been characterized as an "old wheelhorse who was in line for the job." The President's choices for the California district judgeships have brought this bitter comment from a coast observer, "We have what we deserve—a weak and vulnerable group of judges."

Appointments to the District Court benches, where trials and jury cases are held, are logically the most politics-ridden of all. The President cannot be held personally responsible for these choices because of the distance in political echelons from the White House.

The system takes care of this problem. The Democratic Senator or the party leaders, if the state is not represented in the Senate by a Democrat, exercise the dominant control. In an intelligent Administration, devoted to something more than pork-barreling, better qualified men are more likely to be offered to the President for his nomination. But when political morale sinks to the low level of the favor-ridden Truman regime, party-hacks and old friends stand in line for their rewards. For example, a recent Washington rumor had it that Theron Lamar Caudle, before his influence-world collapsed, was only waiting for the next North Carolina vacancy to become Judge Caudle for life.

The President's home state of Missouri, weary from its years of Pendergast domination, has set the nation an

example for the selection of good judges. After a bitter electoral fight in 1938 to defeat a Pendergast-picked judge, Missouri amended its constitution in 1940 to eliminate political jurists. The Missouri plan, providing for a permanent Judicial Commission, to select three names when a vacancy occurs and send them to the governor for the choice of one, has become an established and highly successful system. A dynamic adaptation of the Missouri plan, fitted to the federal constitution, could save us in the future from the kind of judicial selections that Harry Truman has saddled the country with for the next 20 years.

The President appoints all judges with the advice and consent of the Senate. Instead of making his personal choices, the President could name a special Judicial Commission when a Supreme Court vacancy occurs. Three prominent Senators, three leading lay figures and three lawyers could compose such a body, survey the candidates and lay before the President three names. He could appoint any one of the three and send the nomination to the Senate for almost certain confirmation.

**A similar system** would also improve appointments to the Courts of Appeals. When a vacancy occurred in one of the circuits, the President could appoint a similar nine-man commission from that geographical area. A national commission could select judges for the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, since that court handles a large body of government litigation.

Since so much of the political abuse occurs at the District Court level, those judges should be brought within the selection system, too. One Senator from the state where the district is located, regardless of party affiliation, along with selected political, legal and lay figures from the district, could fill up a six- or seven-man commission to make the same kind of three-name selection. The President could select the group from recommendations of party officials and leaders of the bar in the district. Although political considerations would undoubtedly still creep in, the method of selection would force a more serious and judicious atmosphere upon the judge-pickers.

If vacancies occur during the remainder of his stay in office, Truman could inaugurate such a program. Public opinion would require that the Senate, even if reluctant, concur in the new method. The plan has already had its trial run in Missouri, where its success has earned the praise of judges and lawyers across the country. Thus, the state of Missouri, which has given us Gen. Harry Vaughan, Secretary John Snyder and Bennett Clark, offers us a repayment for its bad checks. If Missouri's first citizen accepts that payment, bad judgment and political partisanship might be less evident on the federal bench.

## OWEN LATTIMORE'S COUNTER-ATTACK

*On February 26 Owen Lattimore appeared before his accusers on the McCarran Committee. The major portions of his testimony are presented below:*

**C**ONCERNING my reputation and character, you have now for many months been publishing to the world an incredible mass of unsubstantiated accusations, allegations and insinuations. For months a long line of witnesses has set me in the midst of a murky atmosphere of pretended plots and conspiracies so that it is now practically impossible for my fellow citizens to follow in detail the specific refutation of each lie and smear. . . .

. . . To give a false appearance of reality to this nightmare of outrageous lies, shaky hearsay and undisguised personal spite, the subcommittee has put into the record letters, memoranda, book reviews and other items from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations. This material has been presented in such confusion, and years and dates have been so jumbled, as to make it impossible for ordinary citizens who are not experts on the Far East to judge whether a problem is being discussed as it was at the time, as it might have been, or as it is now. . . .

. . . One of the most shocking things that has happened in the proceedings is that not one of the witnesses against me has ever been asked in examination or cross-examination a question that would test his motives or his reliability. Most shocking in this respect has been the suppression or at least the bland ignoring of evidence already of record.

. . . I will cite just one example, a rather striking one—that of Louis F. Budenz.

**The proceedings** of the Tydings Committee show that Budenz's accusations of me before that subcommittee were a complete fabrication concocted for the specific purpose of his appearance there. They show (1) that until he was recruited to tell his fantastic yarn, Budenz never mentioned me to the FBI despite hundreds of hours of testimony; (2) that in 1949 when he wrote an article for *Collier's*, denouncing many persons for their participation in the Chinese situation, Budenz made no mention of me; (3) that when he published a book in 1950 dealing with the same subject, he made no reference to me in his manuscript, inserting a passing mention only after I was publicly attacked by Senator McCarthy. All of this material was available to your Committee, and your counsel, Mr. Robert Morris, was thoroughly familiar with it, but not one syllable of it was entered in your record nor was Mr. Budenz asked a single question concerning it. . . .

. . . Before the Tydings Committee, Budenz was an

uneasy and evasive liar who weaseled and retreated when his credibility was questioned, but before this committee every question that was addressed to him was an invitation to make the most imaginative and inventive use of what Mr. Joseph Alsop has aptly called "the built-in pickup" in his memory. Thus admonished, drilled and exhorted to take heart and fear not, he proceeded to bring up his old, disproved charges with a new assurance and with new embroideries and embellishments.

In the Tydings hearings, Budenz finally said, "I have never seen *any vestige* of his [Lattimore's] Communist Party membership." Senator Lodge attempted to get Budenz to state "a specific instance when an order or an instruction was given to [Lattimore] and carried out" (p. 1134). After hesitating and weaseling, Budenz said: "Well, the order to represent the Chinese Communists as agrarian reformers was certainly carried out." Then, when Senator Lodge asked, "Is that the most concrete and specific illustration there is?" Budenz then said, "That is the most concrete, yes sir."

Now, it was clearly established in the Tydings Committee hearings that in fact I had never called the Chinese Communists "agrarian reformers," nor had *Pacific Affairs* carried articles calling them agrarian reformers, with the single exception of an article by a Chinese Communist, which was clearly labelled as such, and was presented as an example of what the Chinese Communists were saying. It was thus clearly brought out that Budenz was not only lying when he said that I "carried out an order" but lying in the dark and by guesswork. . . .

. . . When China fell to the Chinese Communists, it was a grave setback to the interests of this country, an unmitigated tragedy. . . . With the advantage of hindsight, a number of mistakes can be pointed out in the handling of the American policy that attempted, at various stages, to forestall, to avoid and finally to mitigate this catastrophe.

It would be useful to analyze those mistakes of the past, as a guide to the future, but it certainly serves no patriotic purpose to distort mistakes, or, more accurately, lack of success, as if they were signs of guilt. The attribution of personal guilt for the mere purpose of providing political scapegoats is not civilized or democratic behavior, however widespread it may be among primitive groups of men. . . .

. . . I believe that it is as important to the welfare and safety of this country to have a strong State Department and an able foreign service in our diplomacy as it is to have effective military forces. I believe that the usefulness of our foreign service personnel has already been jeo-

pardized by the work of this committee—both directly by attacks on irreplaceable personnel, and indirectly by impairing the confidence of the nation and our foreign allies in our State Department and by instituting a reign of terror among our foreign service personnel.

First, as to the direct injury: it is a fact that almost all the few men with outstanding experience and knowledge of China have already either been eliminated from the Department of State or are working in other parts of the world, in the hope of keeping them out of the line of fire of a bitterly partisan political fight and out of range of the venom of men who are determined to find evil where none exists.

... The indirect damage to the conduct of our diplomacy is even greater. The more politically controversial the problems of our diplomacy are, the more vital it is that the experts in the State Department should be able to discuss them fully, frankly and without fear, and should be free to consult with academic experts. But we have reached a point of general intimidation at which our diplomatic representatives must feel under great pressure to report back to Washington only what it is safe to report, and make only those policy recommendations that they feel sure will not result in political attacks on their careers.

I am reminded, Senators, of something that once happened to the Russians. In 1939 they invaded Finland, sure that they were going to have a walkover, but suffered serious military defeats and tremendous damage to their prestige. Does anybody doubt that this was because political intimidation had made yes-men of the Soviet diplomats reporting to Moscow? Communist doctrine and the Party line required them to report that the Finns were groaning under bourgeois-capitalist oppression, and would welcome the Russian invaders. They dared not report the truth: that the Finns were a democratic people, willing to fight against even the Russian colossus in defense of their liberties. The consequence was that Russia walked into a booby trap.

The anger of the American people will be great, Senators, if the political reporting of the State Department degenerates to this point because of political persecution, intimidation and the demand that the China Lobby be empowered to lay down a line to the State Department. What booby traps is the China Lobby laying on the road ahead of us? . . .

... **And now what?** How are we to handle the continuing consequences of the vast shift in the world balance of power represented by China under the control of a Communist Government friendly to Moscow?

Some, including Chiang's refugee government and the China Lobby, want to involve us in a war with Russia on

the mainland of China, the sooner the better. I agree with General Bradley that this would be "wrong war, wrong time, wrong place."

Some want us to follow a policy of blockade, raids and landings, aid to anti-Communist guerrillas, and the activities of what Rep. Walter Judd calls a United States "department of dirty tricks." I agree with the general consensus of the China experts in Great Britain that this would result merely in welding tighter the alliance between Peking Reds and Kremlin Reds, and an increase in the rate of Russian aid and in completing the conversion of China into a police state on the model of the Russian police state.

Some believe that we should write off China as a total loss. Again, I do not agree.

**As the basis for a policy** that might work, I suggest the following principles:

1. Since the North Korean Communist aggression, we have made clear some of the broad outlines of our policy in Asia as a whole. We have shown that we will nowhere tolerate the territorial expansion of Communism by armed aggression, and that if it is tried again, elsewhere, we shall resist again. We must hold fast to this policy, and we must build and maintain the strength to carry it out. If we do, I believe we can count on continuing United Nations backing.

2. On the basis of these principles, we must consider the problems of China as a part of the whole complex of the problems of Asia. We cannot handle it successfully in isolation. We must be ready and quick to resist aggression anywhere in Asia; and at the same time, we must be even ahead of the Asians in insisting that freedom for them means freedom from all foreign domination—our own, Britain's and France's as well as that of the Soviet Union.

3. Our stand in Korea made it possible to begin negotiating from a position of strength. But in negotiating from positions of strength, it is necessary to show also that while we are determined to stop Communist aggression, we are eager to promote alternatives that are acceptable to the maximum number of people in Asia—and Europe. We must show that we are not blindly committed to preventing changes in the status quo—that we accept the principles of national self-determination, national independence, and the right of any people to determine its own form of government and its own economic system.

4. Those aspects of our policy that are symbolized by the words "Point Four" and "Marshall Plan" must be made as positive, as active and as important as the aspects that are symbolized by the words "containment" and "positions of strength." We must show our willingness

to help in the progress of economic development, as well as political freedom, in all the countries that are willing to accept our policies of equality, mutual help, and mutual defense.

5. I do not prophesy—I do not think any man could honestly prophesy—what the eventual answer will be. But I do believe that China is different from Russia, has national interests different from those of Russia, and will follow those interests rather than Russian doctrine and dogma.

I do not pretend to know how far the China of the future may differ from the Russia of the present, or in what way. But I do believe that there is no Russian combination of strategic, political and economic forces that can permanently mold the people of China against their will.

6. It is of critical importance, that, as the independent forces and separate characteristics of China begin to make themselves felt, both China and the rest of Asia should be made to realize that their true future lies in independence—independence of America, as of Russia, but a real independence supported by America, and not a phony independence subordinate to Russia.

7. Independence of this kind is possible. It is possible without a world war. And it can lead eventually to a stabilization of relations with Russia as well as with Asia. It is the declared policy of our government that our purpose in attaining "positions of strength" is to be able to negotiate such a stabilization. I support that concept of policy.

But to carry out such a policy successfully, we must convince Asia, and the world, and above all ourselves, that we are not abandoning democracy. In defending ourselves against totalitarian aggression abroad and infiltration within, we must not, despairing of our heritage of freedom, try to take refuge in the brutal kind of police state that we fought against when we destroyed Hitler and defeated Japan.

**The responsibility,** gentlemen, for deciding how the problems of China and Asia shall be handled rests squarely on this country, because of our preponderating influence on the policies of such countries as Britain, France and Japan. I know that there are people who believe that we should forthwith go to war with the Soviet Union and thereby resolve the conflict over China and the world. Your chairman has said that such a war is inevitable. A logical case of sorts can be made for this view, based on the record of the intransigence and faithlessness of the Soviet Union in the international community. But this case disregards the basic values of the lives and the spiritual and moral well-being of ordinary people. These values are at stake, and they would be threatened even more by a great world war than they are by the present conflict.

War may come upon us. We may have no choice other than to endure and inflict its horrors. But the moral values that we are defending cannot be defended if we take upon ourselves the inhuman and brutal responsibility of preventive war. The demands of civilization and humanity are that we make every effort, unless and until we are forced into war, to protect ourselves and the values of civilization by means short of war.

**The policy** which I have described, as well as the policy to which our government and the United Nations are committed at the moment, is the policy of containment of aggression and of building up the conditions and forces of freedom. It demands, over and above strength and firmness, a deep understanding of the hearts and aspirations of men. This policy is the hard way, the difficult course. It requires patience, firmness and great skill. If we follow it, we shall be walking, fully armed, through minefields and among pitfalls. A violent move can bring disaster. Misinformation as to where we are treading, and the sensitiveness of the ground on which we tread, can cause a fatal miscalculation.

Gentlemen, of this I am certain: so long as this program of maneuver is our policy, so long as we choose the difficult and great course of peace, we are completely dependent for success on the validity of our information, the skill with which we analyze the information, and the ability not only of our diplomats but of our non-government, academic, and private research students and analysts. We cannot hope to play this dangerous game, and certainly not to win it, unless we have the facts as to what is going on. Our observers must be allowed to report the facts as they see them, without the fear that their motives will be misconstrued if they tell the truth. We must know the facts favorable to our enemy as well as those that we like. Of equal importance, we must have the views and opinions of all who have any special competence. Their views must be freely stated and stoutly maintained, so that those who have the ultimate decisions to make may have the fullest choice of various alternatives and so that the people may understand the issues at stake.

We cannot, of course, entrust our destiny in any way to those whose first allegiance is to a foreign loyalty, whether that be the Soviet Union, Communist China, Chiang's Formosa or Franco's Spain. But we must be ever alert to encourage, and not to destroy, freedom for the vigorous expression of views, even of wrong views; and freedom for our private institutions, as well as our official personnel, to make their contributions to the formation of policy and the determination of our destiny. This is the essence of democracy, and it is democracy's strength. It must not be destroyed.

## WETBACKS—SLAVES OF TODAY

**I**N THE OLD Supreme Court chamber of the Capitol, under the tired scrutiny of President Lincoln—painted with his wartime cabinet—a Senate subcommittee is meeting to hear testimony on migratory farm labor. The procession of leathery-skinned farm workers—fruit and vegetable pickers and tenant farmers—who have come to Washington by bus and car from the South and West to tell their stories contrasts with the velvet background of the formal hearing room. In the room where Chief Justice Taney in 1857 ruled that slaves were "articles of merchandise" who by "common consent" had been excluded from civilized governments and who had no rights which the Court "was bound to respect," the farm workers state their cases in simple language:

My name is Jacinto Cota Jr. I do all kinds of farm work in the fields. Right now I am loading carrots. All my life I have lived in the Imperial Valley. All my friends and I have worked with the wetbacks and the Nationals, and we know these conditions we are talking about. [They] have pushed out local people because they will do any kind of work on farms for low wages. The ranchers tell them in old Mexico that they are going to get different good wages. They promise good houses. . . . The labor contractors gyp the Nationals. They make them pay high prices for food, blankets and medicine. All the local people will have to leave the Valley if they keep bringing in Nationals and wetbacks.

My name is Lester Felder. I am a small farmer of Springfield, La., a small farm community located in what is commonly known as the strawberry-producing area of Louisiana. Several years ago there were more than 8,000 farmers, like myself, in this area who derived their livelihood from raising perishable farm products of which strawberries were the principal crop. Today, there are approximately 3,000 farmers in this area. All of us raise our crops by our labor and that of our families except that during strawberry harvesting season we employ pickers and packers some of whom are migrant workers. We pay \$10.60 per head under contract for transportation and furnish housing for migrant labor. . . . Due to the fair wages that we pay we cannot compete on the market with produce from other areas where the farms are larger and cheap labor is used. . . .

My name is George Stith. All my life I have worked on cotton plantations. . . . The importation of Mexican Nationals into Arkansas did not begin until the fall of 1949. Cotton-picking wages in my section were good. We were getting \$4 per 100 pounds for picking. As soon as the Mexicans were brought in, the wages were cut to \$3.25 and \$3 per 100 pounds. In many cases local farm workers could not get jobs at all. . . .

by Jean Begeman

The current Senate Labor Subcommittee hearings headed by Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) mark the first formal attention Congress has given the Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, released almost a year ago, which revealed that more than one million "wetbacks" (illegal Mexican farm workers who jumped the border to dodge immigration inspectors) are in the country now, and others are still slipping in to flood the labor market and lower the wage standards of farm workers. Moreover, the hearings are an encouraging indication that at least a few members of the Senate, which early last month defeated President Truman's recommendations to strengthen the immigration control over illegal entrants, are concerned about migratory labor in relation to our over-all manpower problem. By a vote of 69 to 12, the Senate, on February 6, defeated a provision that would penalize employers who hire illegal foreign laborers—the first clear-cut labor vote this session which revealed the Senate majority to be firmly behind the big growers.

**While the hearings** deal primarily with the legislative proposals growing out of the report of the Migratory Commission, Senator Humphrey has included the social and economic conditions of migrants, the use of foreign contract labor, the adequacy of domestic manpower supply for the needs of growers. During the first two weeks of hearings, the Committee found that amazingly diversified organizations were concerned about the question. The National Consumers League, under the active leadership of Elizabeth Magee, the National Farm Labor Union (AFL), the Council for Social Action (Congregational Christian Churches), the National Education Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Association of Social Workers and others either testified or attended the meetings. The Farmers Union has repeatedly charged that the use of illegal wetbacks by the big farmers is unfair competition for the small family-size farmers. An invitation to the Farm Bureau Federation to testify before the Committee was at first rejected. Later, when asked by the Committee in writing, the Farm Bureau reluctantly agreed.

Dr. Ernesto Galarza, the vigorous education director of the National Farm Labor Union, charged that the US Department of Labor last year "certified a fictitious need for Mexican Nationals to be imported for farm work by a process patterned on that of an ouija board. . . . The government officials have acted as the public

arm of the corporate farm enterprises, and together they have perfected certification of need for wholesale importation of foreign workers as a method of steam pressure on Congress and flooding the farm-labor market at will. This performance in 1951 was a pyramid of bad guesses which in some cases were 95 percent wrong, as far as actual need for farm labor was concerned." In a 25-page document submitted to the Senate committee, Galarza cited incident after incident where government agents have violated the laws and the agreements made with Mexico for the importation of foreign workers. He announced to a private group of civic, education and church organizations that the NFLU plans to strike in the Imperial Valley next May, at the peak of the melon-picking season, if the wealthy growers continue to use illegal labor—"this time we'll either wipe out the wetbacks or be wiped out ourselves."

When President Truman signed the ineffective Mexican contract labor bill last year, he did so on the condition that Congress would strengthen the bill by the time the International Executive Agreement with Mexico expired, February 11, 1952. By that date, Congress had not acted and the agreement was extended 90 days (May 11). The President's personal concern over the plight of "stoop" laborers is unquestioned. In his Budget Message early this year, Truman asked Congress to tighten our immigration laws "to prevent the trafficking in and employment of aliens" who enter the country illegally by

increasing appropriations to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for more inspectors. For the first time, the President included in his budget money to enable the Office of Education to study the question of providing special teaching materials and methods for children of migratory workers. In addition, the President said:

One of the first laws needed is to regulate private employment agencies operating across state lines. The Commission on Migratory Labor found that unscrupulous agencies and labor contractors disrupt the labor supply and exploit workers by charging excessive fees, referring workers to non-existent jobs and misrepresenting the nature of work. . . .

Unfortunately, however, the President's executive assistant, David Stowe, who worked with the Commission last year has swung away from his boss's point of view. Last year Stowe set out to sell the Migratory Labor Commission's report to the big growers in California and Texas. After speaking before numerous associations of farm owners, it appears that Stowe became more convinced by their point of view than they were by his. Last December Stowe made a quiet trip to Mexico to talk to government officials there, urging them not to break the agreement. It is hoped that next May, when negotiations for a new agreement will begin in Washington, the President will refuse to renew the agreement until his pledge to the Mexican Government to stamp out wetbacks is redeemed.

## THE TEAM AGAINST McCARTHY

**A** GOOD MANY Americans don't like Joe McCarthy. Indeed, probably a majority don't. The anti-McCarthy group ranges in distinction from the President, who the other day described the Senate's prime character-assassin as the pathological Mr. McCarthy, to the teen-age youngster on a national radio program who, noting the Senator's remarkable ability to invent new charges before he had sustained any of the old ones, described him as Jumping Joe.

But no matter how the rest of the United States feels about America's number-one exponent of argument by epithet, only one bloc of Americans has the opportunity of doing anything effective about him. The voters of Wisconsin can retire McCarthy this November. The job of securing that result falls very heavily on one man, James E. Doyle of Madison, chairman of the Democratic Organizing Committee of Wisconsin.

Doyle does not know who will be his lusty young party's nominee against McCarthy. But he believes that

by John P. Frank

any of several strong candidates can win the race, and he will carry the ball for whomever the party chooses.

Jim Doyle, at 36 probably the youngest state chairman in America, has already proved himself an effective ball carrier. For five years he has been one of the enterprising team, composed principally of young veterans, which has created the first effective Democratic organization in Wisconsin since before the Civil War. Democratic resurgence was more than one man's job and the group is a real team. Carl W. Thompson, 1950 Democratic candidate for Governor and now National Committeeman, had a leading role. So did Jerome Fox, Daniel W. Hoan, Milwaukee's former Congressman Andy Biemiller, and Robert Tehan, former National Committeeman now district judge, and several others. But Doyle has earned the chairman's seat.

Quiet, soft-spoken and shrewd, Doyle has toughness and endless diligence, the two qualities most needed to nail McCarthy's hide to one of Wisconsin's well-painted barns. His wife, Ruth Doyle, is a member of the State

*John P. Frank, of Wisconsin, is now a professor at Yale Law School.*

Legislature and may this year become a Democratic candidate for Governor.

Doyle's record at Columbia Law School was so outstanding that a discerning professor headed him into an unusually good opportunity in the Department of Justice. After a brief but remarkably distinguished career for a beginner, Doyle went over to the Supreme Court to become law clerk for then Justice James Byrnes.

In 1945, Doyle entered the State Department with Mr. Byrnes, and Byrnes took his young aide along to the momentous Paris Conference in the spring of 1946.

The Paris Conference gave Doyle real insight into Soviet strategy. Along with the American delegation, he came to the conclusion that the Russians were determined to obstruct the building of the peace. He is now in accord with the Truman policy of a fair but extremely firm attitude toward Russia.

The Columbia, War and Washington years were consciously only an interlude for Doyle, who has planned from college days to return to Wisconsin for a life of law and politics. The return, which was made in late 1946, has been successful on both counts. The two careers are kept definitely separate; Doyle, the Madison lawyer, practices real law, not political manipulation, and lectures on the most abstruse of legal subjects at the law school of the university.

One fortunate result of the obvious and absolute integrity of Doyle and his associated party leaders is that the corruption issue can not be used to prejudice the state organization. This is particularly important in a state in which for over 50 years there has been no serious suspicion of corruption on the part of the leaders of any party. McCarthy himself, with his \$10,000 received from Lustron and his fishy income-tax returns, will be the only state candidate to suffer from voter interest in financial transactions.

Prospects of defeating McCarthy, while by no means sure-fire, are good, so good that at least four men are possible aspirants for the Democratic nomination. The nominee may be Tom Fairchild, former Attorney General; Dan Hoan, Milwaukee's well-known ex-Mayor; Gaylord Nelson, a state Senator; or Henry Reuss, an announced candidate, who has run well before for state office. Each is a liberal Democrat with an established record as a vote getter. Now that Republican Governor

Kohler has formally declined to contest McCarthy for the Republican nomination, all anti-McCarthy sentiment probably must coalesce around one of these four men.

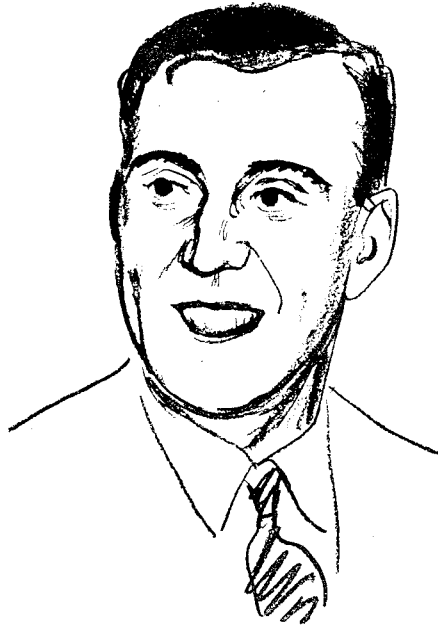
Doyle expects his party's candidate to have to fight hard, but he expects to win. The party percentage of the gubernatorial vote has risen steadily, moving from 11 percent in 1942 to 47 percent in 1950. A few thousand votes this year could put the Democrats on top. Moreover, says Doyle, "McCarthy will run behind the Republican ticket. We have thousands of independents and Republicans who are ashamed of the representation we've been getting. And remember that McCarthy beat Bob LaFollette six years ago by less than five thousand votes."

Doyle has no magic tricks, but his campaign will have two advantages. First, the Democrats are now far better organized than are the Republicans, far more aided in every county by enthusiastic volunteer workers, brought into the party by the vigorous new leadership. The Republicans have the money but the Democrats have the pep. Second, Doyle's team will carry *all* the truth about McCarthy to the voters.

This last point is no verbal flourish. The fact is that, so far, McCarthy has not only failed to discover any hitherto undiscovered Reds in his Red hunt, but he has

also failed to do many of the other things which a state can fairly expect of its Senator. Wholly apart from the witch-hunt question, almost every group in Wisconsin except the real-estate lobby and the largest businessmen have at one time or another in the past six years been let down by McCarthy. He has been anti-labor, anti-farmer, and above all, anti-home owner and anti-renter on critical questions, at least when he has bothered to be present in the Senate at all. Any farmers or working men who don't know McCarthy's record now will be fully informed by November. Two of the state's major newspapers, the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Capitol Times* (Madison) will help.

The years of creating a Democratic Party have been personally hectic for the Doyle family. The three children, Mary, Jimmy and Catherine, don't see enough of their father. Doyle may well retire from politics (at the tender age of 37) after the 1952 election in order to give more time to them and to practice. But whether he goes on to legal or political leadership, he'd like to take the memory of having helped to lick Joe Low Blow.



James E. Doyle

## BOOKS IN REVIEW

### THE NO MAN'S LAND OF AMERICAN HISTORY

by Richard Hofstadter

**T**HE NOMENCLATURE of American history often has about it an air of ingratiating imbecility. The 1920s, for instance, which in so many ways embodied the last reassertion of a dying form of simple business dominance, have been referred to over and over again as "The New Era." The last ten years of

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS, by George Dangerfield (Harcourt, Brace; \$6).

the nineteenth century were a period of great suffering, unrest, bitterness and anxiety; so we have called them "The Gay Nineties." The eight years of James Monroe's Presidency, which were years of bumptious nationalism and expansionism, parochial vendettas and snarling hostilities, have come down to us under the rubric of "The Era of Good Feelings." Although George Dangerfield has no illusions as to the accuracy of this designation—the state of political feelings during the age was, he says, "except for one brief period that cannot be prolonged into an era, invariably not good"—he has chosen it as the title of one of the solidest works of historical writing in recent years.

The period from 1817 to 1825 has long been the No Man's Land of American historiography; a blank interlude between the age of Jefferson and that of Jackson. Historians have neglected it because they have never been able to organize it around the central thread that connects almost all conventional writing of American history—Presidential politics in the framework of the two-party system. Since it was a one-party era, we have tended to assume, nothing happened; a continent was catching its breath between rounds. But when we enumerate the things that did actually take place, even within the conventional frame of reference set by our concentration on national politics, we find that they add up to a great deal. The West was being settled with rapid-

ity; new states were coming in; the electorate was being enlarged by the development of universal male suffrage; Jefferson's party was carrying out its fascinating capitulation to Hamiltonian policies; there was a spectacular panic and depression; the debates leading to the Missouri Compromise took place and the slavery question appeared for the first time as a serious issue in Congressional politics; John Marshall wrote his great nationalist decisions; the nation was engaged in a running duel with England over commercial policy; the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated; and, at the end, the techniques of modern American politics were emerging in the elections of 1824 and 1828.

**Before the appearance** of Dangerfield's book the only important work I can think of that covered much of this ground was Frederick Jackson Turner's *Rise of the New West*, a good book but limited in scope and now almost fifty years old. Dangerfield has done something that is indeed remarkable: without any predecessors in the field he has written a general synthesis of the history of the period that is almost certain to endure as a standard work. Those who know the delightful volume he published many years ago, *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, will expect from him exceptionally animated and witty prose, and they will not be disappointed. He is well informed as to the findings of modern scholarship, and he has woven them into a masterful narrative.

Dangerfield has chosen to preface his story of the events of Monroe's Administration with a long account of the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Ghent that settled the War of 1812. This point of departure is regrettable, I believe, for while it has given him a chance to introduce some of his dramatis

personae, it begins his book with the least fresh and interesting of his material. My primary criticism of the volume rests, however, not upon anything he has done but upon what he has omitted. He has given us an excellent new *synthesis* of the era, with many fresh insights, but he has not written the new *interpretation* which I think needs to be done, and toward which his own work often clearly points. The depression which lasted from 1819 to 1823, he remarks at one point, caused the debtors (and he might have added other groups) to consider whether they ought not "look for a new kind of general government—one that would promote, by strong action and not by negative precept, the great 'agrarian' ideal of a society of independent property owners." This seems to me to pose the kind of problem that will yield a strikingly new view of the age, but Dangerfield has been able to follow it through in no more than casual fashion. And for good reason: he has accepted, to a greater degree than the nature of the period warrants, the framework of what one historian has called "the presidential synthesis." He has written steadily from the standpoint of national politics, national diplomacy and the national party system about an era which can be fully comprehended only through a cumulative account of local, regional and institutional developments.

*The Era of Good Feelings* is as fine a consummation as we are likely to get of the old approach to the period. The next outstanding work on this era will be, I venture to predict, one that approaches it not from the familiar perspective of the Presidential synthesis but in an institutional framework, and it will be written by a historian who conceives of his task in the manner of a political sociologist. What is sometimes called the Jacksonian revolution was actually achieved in large part before Jackson was elected, and even the por-

tion of it that took place during the years of his Presidency went on concurrently with, rather than because of, the conduct of the national administration. Changes in political institutions and practices, in the recruitment of political leadership, in the structure of business enterprise, in patterns of status—such are the materials out of which the next major interpretation will be built. I hope they will be in the hands of a historian who can use them with the mastery Dangerfield has shown here.

Richard Hofstadter, associate professor of History at Columbia University, is author of *The American Political Tradition*.

## NOTES FROM A WATCH-TOWER

THE ENGLISH PAST: EVOCATIONS OF PERSONS AND PLACES, by A. L. Rowse (Macmillan; \$3.75).

IN HIS ESSAY on "John Buchan at Elsfeld" in this volume Professor Rowse quotes a passage from Buchan's autobiography which gives a clue to the impulse behind *The English Past*. Buchan has been speaking of his historical writings and how, in spite of the effort they caused him, he found the labor relaxing. "For they gave me a background into which I could escape from contemporary futilities, a watch-tower from which I had a long prospect, and could see modern problems in juster proportions." I do not know whether Professor Rowse would call the action of the recent Labour Government, for whose accession to power he fought, "contemporary futilities," but he had already decided five years ago when he collected some twenty of his political articles in *The End of an Epoch* that the time had come for him to retire from the modern world.

The twelve essays in the present work are a substantial "watch-tower" into which to retire. Here is the England that was and may never be again. A question seems to rise at the end of each essay, though it is seldom overtly stated: this greatness England has known, the Hobys at Bisham, Milton in the Oxford country, Swift at Letcombe, Hardy at Max Gate, but will this greatness be her lot again? The despair, at times, almost engulfs the praise.

As exercises in evocation the pieces are beguiling. Rowse walks toward the manor-house or the forgotten field, talking of the glory that was. One could not ask for a better cicerone. He can make a tomb speak or a long-vanished house rise from the earth. No one has done this kind of thing so well since Austin Dobson, and Rowse's writing has as much charm as Dobson's and many times as much learning.

Yet one hopes that he will remember that the historical watch-tower provided Buchan with a perspective on modern problems. It would be a loss if the historian who has been such a defender and critic-from-within of the Labour Party should retreat with finality into the grandeur that was, leaving the grubby business of politics to others. We are happy to let Rowse indulge in his busman's moral holiday in the English Past. But he must not stay away too long. There is work for him to do, work as necessary as his "Apology by Way of Preface," the best account I know of the English Present of which he was a part.

WILLARD THORP

## BYZANTINE LEVIATHAN

A WORLD APART, by Gustav Herling. Translated from the Polish by Joseph Marek. With a preface by Bertrand Russell (Roy Publishers; \$3.50).

THE ACCUSED, by Alexander Weissberg. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. With a preface by Arthur Koestler (Simon and Schuster; \$4).

EACH of these books describes its author's imprisonment by the Soviet Government for political reasons—a highly controversial matter—and each therefore should be read without passion. Each is soberly written, and will arouse passions of the most violent nature. Both recall the story of the blind men who tried to get a mental image of the elephant with their fingers. Both were written by men necessarily handicapped, by the fact of their incarceration and the magnitude of events engulfing them, in a tireless attempt to understand these events. Both men make skillful use of the facts at their command. And finally, both seem honest, reliable, disciplined witnesses who have thrown valuable new

light on one of the most important politico-moral problems of our day. Bertrand Russell says in his preface to *A World Apart*—which he praises as "the most impressive and best written" of the many books he has read about Soviet prisons—that those "who refuse to believe the evidence of books such as Mr. Herling's are necessarily people devoid of humanity, for if they had any humanity they would not merely dismiss the evidence, but would take some trouble to look into it."

In England Gustav Herling's book has been compared to Dostoevsky's *House of the Dead*, and as parallel reportage on Russian imprisonment it deserves the comparison. It contains in fact several scenes of greater vividness than even the most famous one in Dostoevsky's book, the bathhouse "hell," praised by Turgenev as "Dantesque." But then the inhumanity of Dostoevsky's drunken Romanov sadists was merely weird compared with the systematic breakdown of human beings developed by the NKVD in the name of humanity's liberation. Dostoevsky was punished with madness, Herling with method. Borrowing absolutely from the church it supplanted, the new Russian state gave the clear conscience of "historical necessity" to bureaucrats only too willing to be released from personal morality. The result is organized brutality of a singularly complacent kind.

After his arrest in Poland in 1940 for trying to cross the frontier to fight the Germans, Herling was sent—via the exemplary "Intourist" prison in Leningrad which is shown to foreign criminologists—to a logging camp near Archangel where there was an 11-to-20-hour workday and planned starvation. In 1942 he was permitted, under the terms of a Russo-Polish treaty, to rejoin his compatriots in Italy and fight the Germans. Meanwhile, though he had been young and vigorous, his health declined to the point where he was transferred to the "mortuary," a barracks reserved for the dying; he resorted to a hunger strike to get indifferent officials to act on his repatriation.

A typical eyewitness incident in his book is the murder of an ex-NKVD officer by prisoners who realized that he

was being deliberately thrown to them. A typical description is nightfall in the camp hospital, where the dying are especially disturbed by the anonymity of their death: no word will be sent their relatives; they will simply be forgotten. Typical characters are the shy woman serving a ten-year sentence because she had lived near a railroad sold to the Japanese (all people in that territory got the same sentence) and an engineer, ordered officially to study French, who fell so much in love with France, through books, that he made invidious comparisons with the Soviet, was imprisoned, and finally scalded himself to death rather than work any longer for his masters. This of course is dramatic material; it has been handled with restraint and an absence of vindictiveness.

**Alexander Weissberg** was a well-known Austrian-Jewish physicist serving the Soviet in important capacities when he was arrested, absurdly, during the Great Purge of 1937. His extraordinary dialectical skill, plus his strength of character, made him a match for the cunning and brutality of the secret police, and in 1940 with great cruelty they delivered him to the Gestapo, from whom he later escaped. His scientific training and temperament enable him to write a level-headed, painstaking book; they also blind him to many political realities than a man of more imagination, unobsessed by the myth of political purity, would have grasped at once. During his interminable interviews with the police he is frequently told that he is naïve, and I must say I agreed with the police—and think the same word applies to his conclusion, which blames everything that went wrong with the Revolution on Stalin. But his very insensitiveness, as Koestler says, brought him through his ordeal.

None of these horrors would have been possible without the assent of a great many people. Historically Russia is nearer the singlemindedness of theocracy than any Western state. Culturally and psychologically this means that millions of submissive citizens are prepared to overlook any monstrosity if only their appetite for faith is satisfied: a situation delightful to ideological rulers. The

Russian intensity, or *doukh*, which was so admirable in ballet, theatre, music and literature, is apparently not yet suited to the prosaic arts of justice and government; and when Lenin said it would be welded harmlessly to technology he made the same mistake, born of administrative innocence and revolutionary optimism, to which Weissberg still clings. His great work had the grim effect of setting the stage for the ruthless masters that seem always to come to power in times of violent upheaval. But these after-the-event reflections should cause no partisan rejoicing to anti-Stalinists; they merely indicate how huge is the task that confronts us all.

GERALD SYKES

## ACCESS TO HOMER

THE ILIAD OF HOMER. Translated by Richmond Lattimore (University of Chicago Press; \$4.50).

WHATEVER the reasons, the last fifteen years or so have witnessed a small but undeniably genuine—and growing—revival of interest in classic Greek literature. Teachers are gratified and surprised by the fact that more and more students are electing Greek; publishers are equally gratified, and more than surprised, to find that there is a solid market for translations—so solid, indeed, that Homer now appears on the newsstands in pocket-book form side by side with Caldwell, Faulkner and O'Hara. In recent years there have been five good prose translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. And now Richmond Lattimore, who has already given us the finest English version of Pindar, brings out an *Iliad* which will hardly be surpassed in our time. Clearly, the occasion calls for Horace's festive recipe (*Carm. I:37*):

Whack. Huroo. Now wet yr whistle.  
Welt the flure, yr trotters shake!

For his translation Mr. Lattimore has chosen an extremely free six-stress line, a hexameter which might be described, in the Hopkins terminology, as heavily counterpointed, with many outriders. The verse norm is

Laodameia lay in love beside Zeus of  
the counsels;

but the characteristic verse shows either syllabic expansion:

How is it, o hallowed head of my  
brother, you have come back to me,

or contraction:

Herakles' son Tleopolemos the huge and  
mighty.

(That last line is almost "quantitative.") Which brings me to one of the very few doubts that I entertain about this poem. Is the verse not too free on occasion? Generally it is handled with great skill; but at times there are so many extra syllables attached to the stresses that the line sprawls (or so few that it bucks), with the result that when Mr. Lattimore reasserts the pattern in a conventional hexameter, there is an awkward jerking back into focus. For instance:

Honour then the gods, Achilleus, and  
take pity upon me  
remembering your father, yet I am still  
more pitiful;  
I have gone through what no other  
mortal on earth has gone through;  
I put my lips to the hands of the man  
who has killed my children.

On a matter of ear, I dare not contend with Mr. Lattimore; I simply confess to a certain uneasiness.

The diction is that of "[his] own 'poetical language', which is mostly the plain English of today." Rouse and Rieu, in their prose versions of Homer, aim at a similar plainness of language; the fine Chase-Perry *Iliad*, published a year or two ago, is more hieratic in tone, but still unmistakably of our time; one could add to the list. But it takes a poet to translate a poet; and the sure pace, the clarity, the radiance, even, of Mr. Lattimore's writing are proof that we are dealing here with a highly accomplished poet. That he is also a meticulous scholar goes without saying.

This *Iliad* should convince and delight all but the more sternly rockbound professors of the classics who believe that Homer should be rendered in a pseudo-Wordsworthian blank verse and a more than pseudo-King James Bible diction. It is useless to argue with these people: they are dreaming of ghosts. Rather, let it be said flatly that here, for the first time, a contemporary reader with no

Greek is given an opportunity to approach the true greatness of Homer. He is still far beyond us, as Lattimore would surely agree: for anything like full appreciation of the *Iliad* one must be able to read the Greek. But the story is here, the tragic grand design; and the clean élan of the English verse generates an incantatory immediacy which is as compelling as the Greek must have been to its first audiences.

And what a poem it is! How pervasive an allegory! Like *Gulliver's Travels*, it is valid at any level: I can imagine no age or condition, rank or profession, that cannot share in it. If ever an ancient poem has spoken to our own time, it is the *Iliad*. We see ourselves here, presently, it would seem, as Achilles. Let us not, like him, come to the truth too late. And is it possible that our mighty opposite is Agamemnon, though an Agamemnon stripped of his grandeur? Who, in public life, is our Patroklos? Hektor? Alexandros? Thersites? I think I know Briseis; do you know Helen? This is one way of reading the poem, and grim fun it is. More importantly, since we have here the germ of our current distress, the poem forces us back into ourselves. Each of us is constrained and torn by the meannesses, the gallantry, the lusts, the candid self-sacrifices, the silly prides, that contended at Ilion so many centuries ago. Which is to say that the *Iliad*, universal and transcending time, like all the greatest art, is yet personal and instant. Mr. Lattimore has made it possible for us to understand this. DUDLEY FITTS

## FICTION PARADE

THE CATHERINE WHEEL, by Jean Stafford (Harcourt, Brace; \$3).

THE SCENE of Jean Stafford's third novel is a Maine summer colony for Boston gentry. The heroine is an exquisite, fortyish spinster named Catherine who could play croquet with perfect ease in one of Mary Petty's *New Yorker* covers. The details of clothing, furnishing and household management are netted and assembled as neatly as specimens in a butterfly collection. The theme is the dry taste in the mouth of middle-aged delusion; the action is minimal; and at the end, in one of the most ponderous strokes of literary contrivance on record,

Catherine is burned to death by, of all things, a Fourth of July Catherine wheel.

As a sincere admirer of at least the first half of *Boston Adventure*, and having carefully reckoned the impertinence I am venturing, I suggest that Miss Stafford has now reached a crucial point in her career. Before getting too deep into her next novel, she should decide whether she wants to write honestly expressive, *un-concocted* literature, or very superior ladies-magazine serials. She has gifts enough to do either impressively; to go on preparing neither-fish-nor-fowl dishes seems a waste.

If she chooses literature, I also suggest she ask herself about her endings. Three times in a row, they have been preposterous. In each of her novels, she has begun with what her art and imagination can really create: a densely detailed, spatially narrated image of a place, some people, and their relationships, dramatizing the whole in a diffused, remembered time, rather than any too tyrannical chronological time. But then, toward the end, she seems to feel the need for a "memorable act," for some abruptly theatrical violence, which not only intrudes improbably upon the soft-grained texture she has been building up, but for which, frankly she has no taste or instinct (as, for instance, Carson McCullers, who also does this, has). The result is false, mutilating, and unworthy of her. If she will go back to her master, Proust, his great climax will perhaps convince her that memorability is possible without such machination.

SHORT NOVELS OF COLETTE. Introduction by Glenway Wescott (Dial; \$5).

COLETTE's vision of human experience is so limited, so exclusively sensuous, so unadulterated, one might say, by any concern with the spiritual, that reading her at great length can be monotonous. As Glenway Wescott's long, wise, loving essay points out, not one of her characters "has the least sense of the eternal life, or of having to choose between salvation and perdition." Her genius, her imagination, her fern-fine sensitivity, respond only to what man has in common with birds and beasts (indeed, in one of her novels, a young man who is torn between his wife and his cat, chooses the cat). But whatever can be relished or suffered by human flesh, whatever can be clasped, sipped, inhaled, reflected in mirrors, warmed by baths, sweetened by scents, whatever is unintellectually accessible to the eyes and ears—not a Corot or Beethoven, but "a plate of Rubelles china, green as a wet treetoad," or a "rustling of worn silk"—these the sure, supple art of Colette has definitively celebrated.

As with so much contemporary fiction, most of her novels are about the relation of self-conscious persons to relatively oblivious ones. Léa's love for Chéri, Renaud's love for Claudine, Madame Farou's love for her husband (in the present novels)—all observe the same pattern. An indulgent or anguishing beholder is enchanted by an impulsive, presumptuous, arrantly self-absorbed beloved. No wonder Proust and Gide were so moved by her.

In France she has recently been collected into 15 lavish volumes. In England a complete translation is being undertaken. If in this country we get a reprint of six novels that were issued 20 years ago (when, I suppose, publishers thought Flaming Youth would buy them for their sex), we must hope for better things, but be grateful anyway. For she is not only a master, but one whom the younger generation of novelists writing in English could study with profit. Leanly cerebral as they have become in the past decade on their diet of Kafka, Myth and Idea-Over-All, they could hardly find a better teacher to show them that novels are about people, not ideas, and that, as Wescott says, a real novel's "incident, description, characterization, dialogue, are the means of expression of truths that are greater, more affecting, truer, than anything that can be put in general or theoretical form."

ROBERT PHELPS

## MOVIES

### CURIOUS YARNS

A BORN storyteller, as opposed to a novelist, is a man who can make you believe any number of improbabilities at least long enough to accomplish his purpose of entertaining you. C. S. Forester is an acknowledged master of the art of inducing credulity and it is a fair guess that *The African Queen* was a successful example of his skill. But on the screen—perhaps because James Agee, who wrote the script, is a serious novelist—the yarn won't wash. You sit there watching Katharine Hepburn, the missionary lady, fall in love with Humphrey Bogart, the dissolute riverboat captain; you witness the radiant happiness of their amorous encounters; you note that their rickety craft navigates safely through rapids and over cataracts that would dash a steel barrel to pieces; you

see Bogart manufacture two torpedoes out of old gas cylinders and some sticks of dynamite; you observe that, as you had expected, the oddly-paired lovers are snatched from the very gallows when the German gunboat on which they are captives (this was during World War I in Africa) runs over their derelict and sinking home-made torpedo boat. And as these marvels are unfolded, you cross your legs in irritation and wish yourself home with Jules Verne.

For one thing, the picture does not move fast enough to outstrip your doubts; for another Agee and John Huston, the director, have made the mistake of injecting notes of realistic personality into their characters; for a third, the expense of all this foolishness is oppressively evident. It should be noted that Bogart, as a timid braggart and bourgeois pirate, contributes a few moments of comedy to the long spectacle of lush nonsense, and that Robert Morley, in early scenes as an unctuous and poisonous British missionary, demonstrates once more his gift for mesmeric hamminess.

**That embarrassing** episode of the last war—in which the British ambassador to Turkey not only employed a shady Albanian as his valet but was unable to prevent the creature from browsing in top-secret portfolios—was first brought to public attention in L. C. Moyzisch's *Operation Cicero*. It now comes to the screen as *Five Fingers*, a civilized melodrama smoothly directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz and super-smoothly performed by James Mason, Danielle Darrieux, Oscar Karlweis, Walter Hampden and others. A good deal of trouble and talent (including photography on the spot in Turkey) has been invested in a story which, true or not, is incredibly silly, but the result is at least harmless amusement.

Mason seems to me better in this picture than in anything else he has done. There is always something a little preposterous about him, so he fits beautifully into the preposterous role of Moyzisch, the treacherous Crichton. It's a fair treat to watch him outsnob the snobs and outfox the foxy (though he is pretty badly foxed himself in the end),

and Michael Wilson, who wrote the screen play; has put some round and juicy sentences into his mouth.

**The semi-documentary** *Navajo*, produced by Hall Bartlett and written and directed by Norman Foster, is a grim little picture that attempts to deal honestly with the present-day life of the Western tribes, but succeeds in proving no more than that the Indians are indeed a taciturn people. Foster's story seems too dolorous to be typical even of the unfortunate redskin (in a Navajo family of six, the father runs off to the illicit pleasures of a railroad town, the grandfather succumbs to old age, the son is shanghaied by a mission school, the mother and two daughters die of disease) and his direction has been unable to elicit much personality from the amateur cast. His hero, a boy of perhaps ten, displays a sullen stubbornness and deep hatred in the face of attempts made by the school's personnel to "tame" him. The source of his hostility is said to rest in the legends of old wrongs told him by his grandfather; it could arise as well from the ineptitudes of his well-meaning captors. The lack of sympathy and imagination shown by the instructor (played by Bartlett) and his Indian assistant is not, I think, a part of the picture's intention; it is caused by cold writing and awkward acting. The Western scenery has been nobly photographed by Virgil E. Miller.

**The camel**, that malevolent and disreputable beast, is a splendidly individualistic camera subject, and the early stretches of *Daughter of the Sands* offer some striking views of his hellish gait, slovenly person and implacable face. Aside from these notes for the camel fancier, the picture has not much to offer. It was made entirely on location in the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara Desert under conditions that were too evidently difficult.

Jean Cocteau wrote the film, but that could not have been much of a task. It tells of an orphan girl and a noble prince and of the love that killed them both; *Tristan and Iseult* is the previous version that the author mentions—there are many others. Cocteau spins his old yarn

elegantly enough, introducing a mad foster mother and a wicked court jester for chivalric detail. But André Zvobada, the director, has not created an elegant or in any way beautiful picture from this material. His heroic scenery has photographed dull and unimpressive, his native actors look stupid, sullen and lumpish in their sheeted garments, his scenes are overcrowded with traditional dances of a curiously dispirited temper: the over-all effect is of a gypsy encampment breaking up after a moderately unsuccessful week on the fair grounds. I have read somewhere that the desert is the dirtiest place on earth; *Daughter of the Sands* bears out the statement and star-crossed lovers who look as though they need a bath fail to convey the romantic note.

ROBERT HATCH

## MUSIC

### Detroit Symphony

**W**HEN THE musical history of this generation is written, the stubborn optimism of the boards of directors of our symphony orchestras will stand out as one of the most constructive factors in a generally troubled time. In the days when Harry Harkness Flagler or Henry Lee Higginson could be counted on to sign a blank check at the end of the season of the New York Symphony Orchestra or the Boston Symphony, orchestra finance was no great problem, and membership in an orchestra board was something of a sinecure. Today it is apt to be a painful honor, for the deficits of operation are far larger than they were in the time of one-man underwriting, and the United States Treasury gobbles up most of the surplus funds of men and women who might otherwise be willing to give generous aid to money-losing cultural enterprises.

The financial situation of the orchestras grows steadily worse, although the abolition by Congress last fall of the 20-percent tax on admissions has been of some help this season. In recent years, salaries, rentals and administrative costs have taken a fresh jump at the start of each season. Ticket prices cannot be raised, what with the direct

competition of television and the indirect competition of automobiles and refrigerators. Consequently, income from ticket sales, and from recording and radio broadcasts in the case of the orchestras fortunate enough to be asked to make them, continues to fall depressingly short of over-all expenditures.

**It requires** both moral conviction and adroit business management to form a new orchestra in the face of these hazards. Even so, the citizens of Detroit decided last spring to risk the re-establishment of the Detroit Symphony, which had collapsed three years earlier, on a wholly new basis. The story of this enterprise gives heartening proof that the last word has not yet been said on the grim subject of orchestra finance.

With John B. Ford Jr., one of Detroit's leading industrialists, as president of the reconstituted board of directors, the supporters of the project undertook last May to raise a three-year subsidy. Pledges amounting to nearly \$300,000 a year for the three-year period were obtained within a fortnight, and when the campaign ended in June, the nest-egg had grown to more than \$400,000. No other orchestra in the country is assured of such handsome support between now and the spring of 1954. The contributions greatly exceed the anticipated deficit, and there should be money left over to start an endowment fund. Paul Paray, the French conductor recently appointed permanent musical director of the organization, is financially in a wholly enviable position.

Detroiters are as subject as the residents of other cities to the hungry demands of the Collector of Internal Revenue, but Mr. Ford and his colleagues tapped a source of assistance that has been overlooked by most other orchestra boards. Twenty-two contributions of \$10,000 a season were made by industrial and business concerns in the Detroit area. Stimulated by the public-spirited thinking of one of their own leaders, corporation executives were convinced that the industries possessing a large share of the wealth of a community should accept a responsibility to contribute toward the enrichment of its life.

Although several of the corporations offered to pledge larger sums, \$10,000 was made the uniform contribution. (Mr. Ford felt that this amount would automatically be continued after 1954, even if there should be a business recession, while larger gifts would be likely to be withdrawn.) Three foundations—including the Ford Foundation, which heretofore has tended to by-pass the arts—made contributions in the same amount. So did the local Federation of Musicians. The city of Detroit was permitted to give \$25,000.

The \$10,000 donors are each represented on the board of directors, but they by no means control that body. The board's members were deliberately selected to reflect the broad interests of the community—labor and management, Negroes and whites, Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

Financially and administratively, the organization of the Detroit Symphony is conceived in terms of the practical circumstances and social and cultural aspirations of today. Its success in establishing a liaison between industry and music points to a pattern that may be followed with success in other cities, such as Chicago, Los Angeles and Houston, where little or none of the vast corporate wealth has been attracted to musical enterprises, despite a tax law permitting the deduction of up to 15 percent of corporate profits for such contributions. (Minneapolis, alone among other cities with major symphony orchestras, has in some small measure anticipated the Detroit plan.)

The insistence in Detroit on full representation of the varied social, religious and racial groups of the city reveals a keen realization of the fact that an orchestra is today a democratic institution rather than the quasi-private possession of a social and artistic aristocracy. Although Mr. Ford and his associates concentrated their fund-raising activities on industry and other institutions, \$107,000—more than 25 percent of the total—came in the first year from the pockets of the general public; the board shows no disposition to forget this important mass support of its project.

CECIL SMITH

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